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ABSTRACT

This paper draws upon the experiential and theoretical insights gained from 5 years of developing a peace education program at Notre Dame University in the Philippines. The critical reflections on that experience encompass the processes, relationships, and structures embodied in the program, and its achievements, constraints, difficulties, and prospects for the future. The personal, social, political, and cultural forces and influences underpinning the formation and evolution of the program also are explored. It is hoped that a case study of peace education in the Philippine context, which is burdened by such deep crises of conflict, violence, and human suffering, may yield meaningful answers and questions for enhancing the craft and struggle of educating for peace, justice, and compassion. (Contains 30 references.) (Author/LBG)

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BUILDING A PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAM: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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This paper draws upon the experiential and theoretical insights gained from five years of developing a peace education program at Notre Dame University in the Philippines. The authors' critical reflections on that experience encompass the processes, relationships, and structures embodied in the program, and its achievements, constraints, difficulties and prospects for the future. The personal, social, political and cultural forces and influences underpinning the formation and evolution of the program are also explored. Hopefully, a case study of peace education in the Philippine context, which is burdened by such deep crises of conflict, violence and human suffering, may yield meaningful answers and questions for enhancing the craft and struggle of educating for peace, justice and compassion.

BUILDING A PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAM: CRITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY EXPERIENCE IN THE PHILIPPINES

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INTRODUCTION

All stories about particular events, institutions and facets of any society will always be embedded in wider social, political, economic and cultural contexts. Such embeddedness does not imply, of course, a mechanical macro-to-micro linear influence, but rather a dynamic reciprocal interaction. In this regard, the Notre Dame University (NDU) experience in building a peace education program in the Philippines was a child of the post-EDSA revolutionary era in that nation's history. Under the Marcos regime, systematic repression drove many people's struggles for peace, human rights and justice and peace underground, or severely constrained their activities. EDSA opened up what has been referred to by activists as the "democratic space" within which has grown spectacularly a diversity of non-governmental pro-people organizationsor cause-oriented groups. From basic community development to human rights advocacy; from disarmanent and conflict resolution movements to struggles for cultural autonomy and solidarity, and care of the Philippine environment – all these sectors and areas of peacelessness and conflicts have become active sites for peace- building.

It is in this wider community and people's movements for peaceful transformation that the NDU experience in building the country's first systematic program in peace education must be located and understood. Specifically, this paper seeks to draw upon the experiential and theoretical insights gained from five years of developing peace education at NDU. Our critical reflections on that experience encompass the processes, relationships, and structures embodied in the program, and its achievements, constraints, difficulties and prospects for the future. We will also explore the personal, social, political and cultural forces and influences underpinning the formation and evolution of the program. Hopefully, a case-study of peace education in the Philippine context, which is burdened by such deep crises of conflict, violence and human suffering, may yield meaningful and

possible answers and questions for enhancing the craft and struggle of educating for peace, justice and compassion. It should be mentioned, however, that well before the birth of the NDU program, the earliest exemplar of tertiary peace studies in the Philippines occurred at the Mindanao State University (MSU) in Marawi City. There, the Southern Mindanao Peace Studies Center was established in the early eighties by one of the Philippines long-standing and active peace researchers, Dr. Nagasura Madale. Because of institutional constraints, the systematic program that highlights the NDU experience was not possible at the MSU.

BEGINNING BY CHANCE

Located on the southern island of Mindanao in one of the most multicultural regions of the Philippines, Notre Dame University is a lead university within the Notre Dame Educational Association comprising 10 tertiary institutions and 112 schools from kindergarten to secondary levels. NDU's population of some six thousand students is distributed in various basic and professional fields, such as Arts, Sciences, Education, Nursing, Engineering, Commerce, Law, and Graduate Studies. Among its clientele are a blend of ethnicities, including peoples of the central (Visayas) and northern (Luzon) lowland and dominant majority tribes who have settled in Mindanao, and those who belong to the ethnic minorities, namely the Muslim tribes as well as the Lumads, a collective name for Mindanao's indigenous mostly highland tribal communities. Founded and still administered by the Oblate congregation of OMI priests, NDU has been run along the lines of a Catholic sectarian university, accredited by the Philippine Accrediting Association of Schools, Colleges, and Universities (PAASCU). As is common among Catholic schools in the Philippines, NDU highlights within its charter a vision and mission which speaks openly of a commitment to peace, justice and human rights. For example, within the vision/mission statement are tasks such as "to give special attention to the Poor, Deprived, Oppressed, Marginalized and Exploited ... (and) to live a lifestyle expressive of Christian values, respecting and promoting life and human rights, working for truth, justice, love and peace".

Clearly, NDU had, within its formal goals as a Catholic educational institution, fertile ground for planting the seeds of peace education. However, it was not until 1987 and only through a series of chance happenings and personal-professional encounters, that such planting and germination

occurred. The catalyst event was undoubtedly the establishment of the Mindanao Peace Studies Center at a Jesuit school, Xavier University, in Cagayan de Oro, northwestern Mindanao. At the conference held to launch the Center, it so happened that the keynote speaker, the first post-EDSA Secretary of Education, Culture and Sports, Dr. Lourdes Quisumbing, was unable to attend. One of us (S.H.Toh) was then visiting the Philippines on a sabbatical leave, with an itinerary collaboratively organized by Virginia Floresca-Cawagas. Because of Secretary Quisumbing's absence, a replacement speaker was necessary, and Dr. Bob MacAmis, Director of the to-be-launched Xavier Peace Center, through his acquaintance of Floresca-Cawagas, then Executive Secretary of the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines (CEAP), was able to invite instead Toh to present the keynote talk. It was at this conference that the tentative ideas of a framework of peace education which might be relevant to Philippine realities were outlined, the outcome of dialogue and sharing of understandings between a development educator of Third World origin but now located in the North (Australia), and a values educator active in Philippine educational development since the 60s.

This framework, as elaborated later, needed to take into account the major realities of peacelessness, conflict and violence still prevalent in Philippine society, notwithstanding the downfall of Marcos and the reinstitutionalization of Philippine political democracy under President Cory Aquino after the EDSA revolution. The responses from the conference audience, including students, teachers, grassroots development workers and Church activists, were positive. The problems of peacelessness identified were deemed critical and salient; the possible peacebuilding and peace education strategies to resolve them seemed constructive and grounded in Filipino aspirations and expectations.

However, it needed another chance personal-professional contact for peace education to be brought to NDU. As an umbrella organization, the Catholic Association of the Philippines (CEAP) speaks on behalf of the over 1000 Catholic educational institutions in the country. In 1986, the CEAP President happened to be Fr. Jose Ante, an OMI priest who was also simultaneously President of NDU. Thus, during a visit to CEAP, Toh was invited by Fr. Ante to see NDU in the southern island of Mindanao at the same time as Floresca-Cawagas was to show some private education foundation officers some NDEA projects. It was an opportunity to again present the tentative framework for consideration and reflection by another group of Filipino educators. Similarly, the NDU reactions validated the relevance

and feasibility of the suggested analysis and strategies, leading to the articulation of a generic framework of peace education that has since 1987 been applied and tried in a variety of educational and social contexts. And it was also at this first encounter with NDU faculty and administrators, in particular the Dean, College of Arts and Sciences (Ofelia Durante) and the Executive Vice-President, Fr. Alfonso Carino, OMI, that the planting of the seeds of peace education in NDU soil occurred. However, before telling the story of how these seed sprouted and matured into plants, it is helpful to first clarify the framework itself.

A HOLISTIC FRAMEWORK FOR PEACE EDUCATION

A major impulse for peace education in North, advanced industrialized regions was undoubtedly the disarmament movement, as an era of superpower tensions and the escalating arms race raised the spectre of nuclear catastrophe. However, for Third World peoples in South societies, the daily realities of conflict, violence and grim human suffering related directly to problems and crises other than a potential nuclear holocaust. A framework for educating for peace in the Philippines hence needed to emerge from the firm terrain of Filipino peacelessness, and in the collaborative approach adopted from the very beginning, such contextual relevance became possible. For the outsider, it meant a willingness to be open to the realities of Philippine life in all its complexity and diversity, whilst offering global perspectives to be reworked during the dialogue of understanding local systems and local-global interrelationships. For the insider, it required a willingness to reflexively reinterpret taken-for-granted knowledge of one's own society in the light of newly sighted processes and structures, and of global understandings creatively distilled from the experiences of other societies and regions. It was out of such a dialogue and "interlogue", still in process, that a framework of six key clusters of problems and issues of conflict and violence, as well as concomitant strategies of transcending these expressions of peacelessness, was developed. The clusters focused on militarization; structural violence; human rights; environmental care; cultural solidarity; and personal peace.

Militarization: When the framework was first articulated, militarization in the Philippine context had both external and internal manifestations and causes. While today the nature of the problem had changed somewhat, militarization continues unabated, inflicting daily pain, hardships and suf-

fering for countless Filipinos. Certainly in 1986, after EDSA, the presence of the U.S. bases remained a deep stain on Philippine national sovereignity, and the locus for dehumanizing sexploitation of women and children in the R & R-spawned centers like Olongapo City. Thus peace education necessarily analyzes the role of the U.S. bases, and the positive alternative of conversion to civilian economic and social use. In 1992, the termination of the U.S.-Philippine military treaty, which allowed the presence of the bases, attests to the determination of the anti-bases and nuclearfree movement in the country. Nevertheless, peace education would not necessarily "close shop" on such issues, given the continuing global arms race, the myth of a post-Gulf War "new world order", and the possibility of renewed U.S.-Philippine military ties under the new Government of General Ramos.

But more impactful has been the unceasing two-decade old armed insurgency struggle led by the New Peoples Army (NPA) and its political affiliate, the National Democratic Front (NDF). Since EDSA, except for a brief 60-day ceasefire during abortive peace negotiations in late 1987-early 1987, the civil war rages on in the countryside, and on occasions in the urban centers. One million refugees, fleeing from the fighting or summarily evacuated during counter-insurgency campaigns noted for human rights violations, have been created since 1986. From a peace education perspective, the insurgency problem in the Philippines, just like many other Third World situations, has its roots in severe social and economic injustices. Thus the Aquino administration's response, after the failure of the 1986 peacetalks, to unleash the "sword of total war" can only set up a continuing bloody cycle of violence and counter-violence, and compound the suffering of the poor majorities caught in the crossfires. Peace education in relation to such internal armed conflicts hence emphasizes the urgent need to redress societal injustices, and revive the peace process to reconcile the armed parties in the conflict, as witnessed recently in El Salvador. In addition to this major armed conflict, there has been the recurring phenomenon of coup attempts by disaffected military rebels, each one costing innocent lives, social destruction, and political-economic instability. Likewise, reconciliation to transcend such militarized conflicts is equally important.

Finally, to deal with militarization also means to confront the values underpinning the taken-for-granted "culture of war" in everyday life, in the Philippines and worldwide where consumerism has taken hold. We see this in children brandishing war toys; in parents who see it fit to purchase such toys; violence in the media; "Rambo style" killings, and the like. In the

Philippines where this culture has sprouted heavy roots, educating for peace necessarily also demystifies these personal values and attitudes conducive to militarism and militarization, and seeks cultural alternatives: from war toys to peace toys; media reforms; and training for conflict resolution skills and values from an early age.

Structural Violence: 40,000 children die daily on planet Earth due to hunger and preventable diseases; of these about 400 are Filipinos. Many more millions of adults live impoverished, deprived of the basic needs that constitute at least a humane existence. Yet, such deaths and suffering are needless because, theoretically, enough resources exist in the world to meet such needs. These are the consequences of what the pioneer in peace research, John Galtung, has termed structural violence. Unjust social, economic and political structures inflict a form of violence that is no less impactful in human suffering than the physical violence of wars and brute repression. In the Philippines, the manifestations of structural violence are manifold: from the poor surviving in urban slums like "Smokey Mountain" in Tondo, Manila, to the marginalized peasants in the countryside. In contrast, urban and rural elites, often in collaboration or in competition with external economic agencies (notably the transnational corporations in the export-processing zones or in agribusiness) exploit the rich natural resources and cheap labour of the Philippines to enrich themselves.

But structural violence in the Third World also has its indisputable global dimensions. The North-South gap is translated into unequal terms of trade, and in recent times, into the tightening noose of the international debt trap. The Philippine Government, by agreeing to "honestly repay every peso" of its $30 billion debt, incurred mostly via corrupt deals and in modernization projects which hardly benefit the poor, has clearly sentenced its ordinary citizens to penury, and its environment to speedy destruction. How can adequate social services be maintained when half of a nation's budget go into debt servicing? How can the fragile natural environment withstand the pace of economic exploitation in order to meet the profit-maximizing needs of creditors from the rich world?

The peace education framework evolved thus continually raises critical questions about the equity and justice embodied in domestic and international structures and relationships of production and distribution. Can the Comprehensive Agrarian Reform Law, the so-called centerpiece of the Aquino government, succeed in decisive redistribution of land to the poor majorities, given the power of landed interests in the post-Marcos Congress? Does transnational-controlled agribusiness really assist the develop-

ment of sustainable rural development integrated with relevant, self-reliant industrialization? Why should a Filipino baby be born with 10,000 pesos debt on its head, and forced to repay it with sweat, tears and blood? How can the urban poor be forced to exist in sub-human squatter conditions, while the wealthy elites live in exclusive, security-guarded compounds? Why cannot the bountiful seas around the Philippines' 7000 islands be harvested to provide the population with adequate nutrition and equitably shared profits from exports for marine resources, in contrast to the present uncontrolled and destructive plunder of such resources by a few elites and foreign fishing fleets and traders? These kinds of contradiction-based questions continually evoke critical dialogue around the vital concept of structural violence during peace education workshops.

Human Rights: While governments, on behalf of their nations, may willingly sign all kinds of international declarations and covenants on human rights (including former President Marcos), their actual practices can often violate those very rights. Annual reports by various international agencies committed to monitoring and advocating human rights continue to document serious or even deteriorating conditions in so many states. So it is in the Philippine case. Although repression by Marcos military forces of dissidents and opposition to martial law and his dictatorial rule entailed gross human rights violations, the Aquino government's record in this area has been unfortunately poor when assessed by various domestic and international organizations or committees, if not by the government's Human Rights Commission itself.

Thus, the very structures of official "total war" policy to defeat insurgency lend themselves to human rights violations (e.g. forced evacuation of villages prior to military operations; blockades of basic needs to suspected insurgent areas; search-and-destroy operations; arbitrary arrests; harrassment of cause-oriented activists etc.). The rise of right-wing paramilitary groups or vigilantes, who appear sometimes as fanatical cults, has compounded abuses of rights of peoples suspected to be "sympathetic to the enemy", or who refuse to support the groups. Counter-violence on the part of the armed groups exact also a toll on the rights of civilians who may be inadvertently caught in the middle of encounters (including urban assassinations by the NPA urban units), or are left after nearby encounters to face the suspicion and anger of soldiers. In the human rights cluster of the peace education framework, it is therefore essential to critically analyze the contradictions between formal pronouncements and practices on fulfilling the Government's obligations under international law. It is also meaningful

to consider constructive means to at least "humanize" the armed conflicts according to the provisions of international humanitarian law, such as in negotiating a code of armed conduct between the forces of government and armed groups.

Human rights, of course, cannot be limited to civil and political rights. The concept of structural violence has already highlighted how unjust societies systematically deprive their poor majorities of basic needs, and hence their very rights to basic economic and social fulfilment. But in the Philippine context, two exemplars of human rights violations also touch very real sources of sometimes unseen conflict and violence, namely the rights of women and the rights of children. Under the umbrella of four centuries of Spanish Christianity, deep strands of patriarchy have become embedded in modern Filipino culture. The emergence of a women's movement, rooted in principles of gender equity and self-determination, contributes important issues for Philippine peace education. Likewise, the international vigour shown by the Philippines in moving the United Nations to enact the Declaration on the Rights of the Child provides an opportunity to point to the contradiction posed by many thousands of streetchildren and other child labourers, forced to be exploited in order to survive.

Environmental Care: The global environmental crisis has its constituent roots within both North and South societies – the former setting role-models of ecologically unsustainable and polluting "development" and life-styles; the latter, qua their elites, trying to emulate this environmentally destructive modernization paradigm, albeit often with the collaboration of North agencies, notably the transnational corporations. In the Philippines, the two pillars of this environmental crisis have become deeply rooted since Independence, and concretized by successive political and economic regimes fueled by the expedient tactic of ruthless profit-maximizing exploitation of the nation's natural resources. Meanwhile, the environmental costs which are mounting and deepening in damage intensity, are borne largely by ordinary peoples and communities, although in recent times, even the rich are no longer immune to the negative consequences.

Thus, the forests are cut at alarming rates while the Congress under Aquino's rule failed to pass a logging ban bill. The mountains continue to lose their precious topsoil causing droughts and floods as demonstrated in the catastrophic Ormoc flood which washed away 7000 people. Meanwhile, secondary problems emerge to threaten the basis of livelihood and macro-operations, such as the destruction of coral reefs and other spawning grounds for economically important marine life; silting of hydroelectric

dams; brownouts and industrial disruptions; and agricultural failure from droughts and floods. The rivers, lakes, seas, and air remain convenient dumps for toxic and polluting wastes, while business firms easily escape legal standards or the environmental safeguards themselves are too minimal to protect the environment. Again, it is the people's health and their access to sustainable food sources which will suffer.

In response to this crisis of enormous proportions, the environmental movement has undoubtedly emerged as a significant new social force in Philippine society. NGOs like the Haribon Foundation and Kinaiyahan, and concerned clergy and laity in many churches have been working with ordinary villagers and citizens, and green-minded members of the middleclass and elite groups to try to stop and reverse such ecological abuse. Not surprisingly, the resistance from those who will lose from environmental care is strong, even to the point of employing violence against individuals or communities who challenge their activities. The environmental cluster in the peace education framework hence not only considered the vital ecological problems themselves, but also the explicit and implicit relationships between environmental destruction or care and other issues of peacelessness including militarization, structural violence, and human rights. Not least, positive alternatives needed to be constantly posed for integrating societal development with sustainable environmental-use principles (e.g. developing solar and alternative energy sources; recycling wastes; eco-tourism; community-controlled sustainable forestry etc).

Cultural Solidarity: Some of the major conflicts and violence in past and present worlds have occured within the context of inter-cultural relationships. The perceived differences between and among different cultural traditions and groups, within national boundaries or across regions, have generated tensions, disputes, and even wars, as we daily witness in the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka, many African states, Northern Ireland, and the bloody disintegration of Yugoslavia. This is not to imply though that it would be "better off" for the enormous cultural diversity on our planet to be reduced, as some global forces are slowly achieving through culturally invasive and ultimately assimilative vehicles like consumerist advertising and the spread of commercialized role models (e.g. pop music heroes, soft drinks, fashion etc). Rather, from the perspective of peace education, the question is how to cultivate an awareness of cultural diversity that is simultaneously committed to a global unity of all peoples, or what is referred to in the framework as cultural solidarity.

For the Philippines, such a task is critical in the light of conflicts and

even violence between communities and representatives of different faiths and cultural traditions. For instance, the clash of Islamic and Christian social and political systems during the Hispanic conquest of the Philippines laid the roots of Muslim-Christian divisiveness. But it has been more recent policies of Government-encouraged settlement of the southern Philippines, which are considered the ancestral domains of the Muslim tribes, by Christians from the central and northern islands, as well as the growth of radical political movements for Moro autonomy, that laid the fuse for the bloody wars of the 70s and scarred Mindanao inter-cultural relations to this day. Likewise, official policies of economic modernization (e.g. agribusiness, logging, mining, dams) have brought the representatives and symbols of the dominant lowland cultures to confront indigenous highland cultures. Often, coercion and displacement of the less assertive tribal minorities accelerates their marginalization and social disintegration, but in some cases, they stand their ground, opposing such developments as seen in the abortive building of the Chico Dam by the Marcos regime in the northern Cordillearean mountains, and in the looming conflict between Government agencies and military forces and the Mindanao lumads, who reject the planned geothermal project on their sacred Mt. Apo.

Educating for peace therefore cannot avoid raising the issues of cultural conflict and the cultural solidarity needed to heal those sometimes centuries-old disputes. In this regard, the valiant work of groups striving to cultivate inter-faith understanding, such as the Silsilah Islamo-Christian Dialogue Institute (one of whose members was just recently assassinated) deserves much credit for its concern with a major problem of conflict and even violence in Philippine society. But at the same time, intercultural awareness and tolerance will not be enough given the roots of structural violence and human rights violations in the history of such intercultural relations. As voices among marginalized indigenous or tribal peoples increasingly proclaim, whether in North or South regions, intercultural healing also requires the redress of structural injustices, of which rights to their culture-sustaining ancestral domains are paramount. Thus educating for cultural solidarity goes beyond promoting tolerance of diversity to transformations for justice and autonomy, whether it be in economic, social, political or cultural spheres.

Personal Peace: The inclusion of the cluster referred to as personal peace in the framework was most crucial for the Philippine context. Centuries of formal religion, especially under the Christian churches, have embedded within Filipino psyches a deep respect for and allegiance to personal faith,

or in a more encompassing term, spirituality. There is hence already much within the local cultures that relates to ideas and concerns for personal peace. The challenge for peace education here was to find creative interdependent modes where such preexisting concerns and values could dialogue with principles of personal peace that draw on both global perspectives, as well as indigenous worldviews that may have been suppressed by the coming of Western "civilization".

One such node emerged from rethinking concepts of "progress" and "happiness" in so-called "developed" or advanced industralist and consumerist societies, which have become a prevalent role-model in the modernist consciousness of so many Filipinos. Are rich North Americans or Europeans automatically more culturally "developed" than the poorest Indian or Filipino peasant or labourer? Does materialism assure individual "happiness", as contradicted by the increasing signs of anomie, alienation and neuroses in some of the richest countries on Earth? Why can those who have so little often still enjoy their community life and sharing as human beings, while the affluent find it hard to part with half a loaf and even try to grab a hundred more loaves, at the expense of the deprived?

Such contradictions illuminate a more authentic sense of personal peace – one which trancends excessive and self-centered materialism and seeks peace not in individualistic satisfaction but rather in an inner peace that does not forget the existence of social peacelessness, and hence a simultaneous commitment to peacebuilding in the wider society. In that way, personal peace in the framework is both spiritually fulfilling at the individual level (using, for example, the vehicles of centering, meditation and the like) and at the planetary level, via one's responsibilities to countless sisters and brothers struggling for justice and compassion. Such a dialectical conception of personal peace also finds resonance in the very traditions and values of Philippine peoples themselves, where strong roots of community sharing exist as well as an indigenous spirituality that speaks of non-materialistic communion with the cosmos.

These then are the substantive, closely inter-related clusters of issues and problems that comprised the holistic framework applied in our endeavours of peace education through the NDU program. It suffices here to stress the importance of *four pedagogical principles* that have been applied in educating about these issues. First, there is the principle of *holism*, as reflected in Figure 1, where the six clusters are presented as points on a circle. This suggests that no hierarchy is intended among the issues, and according to learner's local realities, one or more issues may be seen as most relevant

immediately. However, it is the responsibility of a peace educator to move around the circle since for Filipinos, all the issues constitute crises for the Philippine nation and the well-being of each requires attention to all the problems, even if the direct impact may not yet be felt at individual levels. Holism is also seen in the lines connecting the six clusters of issues, which as analyzed in preceding pages, are dynamically interrelated. For example, militarization in the Philippines is underpinned by structural violence. Environmental care also means respecting the rights of and showing solidarity for indigenous peoples to live on their own cultural terms in ancestral domains. If such linkages are not recognized, then proposed peacebuilding solutions to any problem may become partial, bandaid, or cause more difficulties.

A second pedagogical principle highlights the centrality of critical *values formation* to the process of peace education. In the post-positivist paradigms of social science, all knowledge production and distribution embody implicitly or explicitly values which need to be surfaced during critical pedagogy, and examined for their possible consequences upon the world. Figure 1 shows some of the preferred values in the peace education frame-

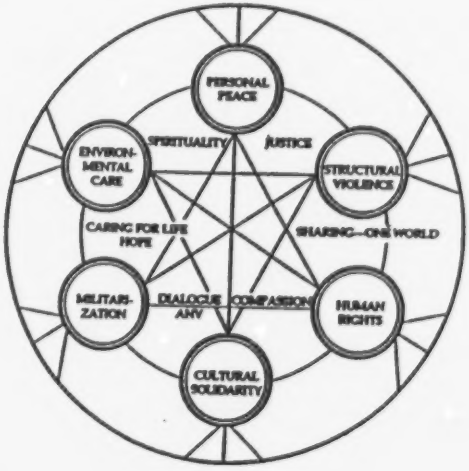

Fig. 1 A Holistic Framework for Peace Education

work, including justice, compassion, caring for life, spirituality and a "one world" orientation. The values underpinning ANV, or active nonviolence, have been particularly crucial in our peace education program, as we challenge ourselves and participant learners to move from passive nonviolence to an active mode. What are we concretely doing, even if it is metaphorically "five pesos" worth of action, to transform a world full of peacelessness and structural violence? How can peace educators, as teachers, imply with a clear conscience that practising values is the responsibility of the students, and not also an urgent problem of our personal commitment? Not least, the value of hope is vital, if peace education is not to leave learners with deep feelings of despair, hopelessness and helplessness in the face of such deep social, personal and global crises. Peace-oriented pedagogy stirs a sense of hopefulness, that ordinary people can transform their realities through perseverance, courage and solidarity.

A third pedagogical principle we infuse through our peace education program is *dialogue*. No longer are learners simply expected to passively receive knowledge and "truths" from their teachers who act as "bankers". Rather, a situation of dialogue is created through participatory and active teaching-learning strategies, in which the personal realities and understandings of learners have opportunities to be surfaced, and shared for cooperative reflection. It is in the give-and-take of peaceful and constructive critique, and the willingness to engage in humble self-criticism, that dialogue creates possible spaces and motivations for personal transformation towards peacebuilding commitments.

Last, but not least, there is the related pedagogical principle of *conscientization*, that powerful idea which Paulo Freire has given to emancipatory models of literacy and education. It would not be sufficient just to convert passive, banking pedagogy to a more active, participatory dialogal teaching-learning processes. Rather, the dialogue flows through into the formation of an active critical consciousness which empowers each of us to transform our realities. But this, of course, is usually easier said than done. In our peace education program, there are still difficult lessons and creative strategies to be learned and designed, so that the principle of conscientization becomes more effectively practised.

THE NDU PEACE EDUCATION PROGRAM

No attempt will be made here to document a chronological history of the

five-year experience of the NDU peace education program, as it is deemed more useful and explanatory to analyze the major themes of strategy and concrete practice which encapsulate that experience. How was the basic conceptual framework implemented, and with what consequences? What obstacles or helping factors were encountered? What were the achievements or failures? What strengths or limitations were evident, and what possibilities exist for the future? Can potential national and global lessons for doing peace education be drawn from the NDU experience? However, to allow for a systematic exploration of these kinds of questions, the program will be elaborated in terms of its four major categories of practice: the graduate program in peace and development education; peace education and peacebuilding activities in Philippine society; institutional transformation within NDU; and networking with other educators, researchers and activists in diverse fields of peacebuilding.

(a) The Graduate Program in Peace and Development Education

When NDU administrators and senior faculty became persuaded through workshops and seminars of the relevance and consistency of peace education to the university's vision and mission, the question was where to begin the process. While it was accepted that in the long-term, all formal and nonformal aspects of university life would need to be infused in the peace paradigm, it was felt that initially a compact, visible program of studies would serve to act as a beacon for the NDU's proposed commitment to peace education. Given resource constraints, notably the lack of university teachers who had a detailed understanding of peace and conflict issues needed for such infusion, the decision was made to start with a graduate studies program whereby NDU faculty and other interested students could receive sufficient grounding in the peace education framework. Thus, in 1987, a core program was designed for the M.A. (Edu- cation) and Doctor of Education (Ed.D.) degrees, comprising some 12 courses focusing on the overall framework, as well as specific facets of a holistic concept of peace education. The latter induded courses on Disarmament Education, Education for Human Rights, Global Development and Justice, Environmental Education, Ethnicity, Cultural Solidarity and Education, Active Non-Violence, Values Education, Third World Education and Development, and Religious Perspectives on Peace & Development. A Research Methodology course was also designed to better serve the needs of research in peace education, which would be more qualitatively oriented, sensitive to ethical-political issues, and promote dialogue and conscientazation among research

subjects (e.g. participatory action research).

But an initial obstacle was posed by the accreditation process, in which the Department of Education, Culture & Sports (DECS)'s approval was required for the program to proceed. The initial response of DECS officials was couched in terms of "employability" – would graduates in peace education find useful jobs! Then objection to the descriptor "peace education" was voiced why not "development education", which is already a well-known area of specialization in Philippine universities, albeit not necessarily based on the critical paradigm. Clearly, to the DECS bureaucrats, peace education seemed exotic or non-understood. Finally, after extended negotiations, NDU was able to begin a specialization officially entitled "development and peace education" but practically referred to as "peace and development education" in NDU circles. The first enrollees were administrators (e.g. Dean Ofelia Durante) and faculty members of the College of Arts and Sciences; the Vice President of NDU, Fr. Carino; and a visiting candidate-cum-visiting professor, Virginia Floresca-Cawagas.

The next practical challenge was posed by the teaching requirements. Thus a mode of distance education delivery was designed: Toh would come from Australia once or twice a year to give 3-day intensive workshops for each course. Students would be left with relevant reading material which they would consult in preparation of their course assignments and requirements that could be sent to Toh for assessment or wait until his next trip back for more course-workshops. In the initial absence of external funding, Toh agreed to undertake these teaching tasks in a volunteer capacity, drawing on personal resources, until hopefully, some agency would see the program as worth supporting. In this regard, it took a full two years before the Philippine Department of Foreign Affairs (DFA), DECS and the National Development Economic Authority (NEDA) agreed to ask the International Development Program of Australian Universities and Colleges (IDP) for a consultancy for Toh to assist the graduate program and related peace education activities at NDU. This IDP consultancy which lasted 1989-92 and sponsored Toh to visit NDU twice a year has been crucial in the successful foundation of what is still the only systematic graduate program in peace education in the Philippines. From the initial candidates who are NDU faculty, the courses and degree programs have also attracted tertiary educators from neighbouring private and state universities and colleges.

Since 1987, some 30 workshops for various specialized courses have been conducted in conjuntion with the graduate program, with a number of core courses being repeated over the years. They are timed usually to coin-

cide with summer or inter-semestral breaks of NDU and other Philippine tertiary institutions. Presently, some 20 M.A. or Ed.D. candidats are enrolled on part-time basis in the program, and to date, three doctoral and one masteral candidates in peace education have successfully graduated. Given that an average NDU university instructor is expected to teach a normal semester load of 21 units, or 7 classes of up to 50 students, and often takes on additional courses as well to bring net earnings beyond the national poverty line, this rate of progress of the part-time candidates is understandable. The IDP consultancy funding did not, regretably, fund study-leave scholarships which would have enabled the candidates to fully concentrate on their academic studies and research.

What is more important than the rate of graduation, however, was the deepening of theory and practice in peace education which occurred as the same candidates participated in successive workshops on various general or specific topics. Micro issues and problems of peacelessness and conflict were continually analyzed in terms of their connections to macro structures and realities. The holistic interrelatedness of specific issues was seen whichever course they appeared in. The motto "think globally, act locally" was made concrete in the Philippine and even more regional Mindanao contexts. Personal and social values were always surfaced as views and perspectives are critically examined, and their implications for building a peaceful Philippines and world creatively painted. These educational outcomes, which are necessary for dialogue and conscientization, were produced by a consistent practice of participatory pedagogies. Class members sang, acted, danced, laughed, cried and critically challenged each other's and the teachers' views in ways which traditional schooling and even teacher training had suppressed. What helped considerably here, however, is the basic cultural predispositions of Filipinos to singing, dancing, acting and community performing, and to feeling the real joy accompanying such human expressions.

Thus, for example, students often produced group songs of development and justice, to reflect the realities of suffering of the poor (e.g. farmers, fisherfolk, labourers, streetchildren), the causes of such suffering, and possible ANV solutions to their problems. Mock trials or public hearings are held on the human rights situation in the country, or students translate their understanding of human rights violations and defense into posters which later become public exhibitions. Through popular theatre of drama or mime, students look into the roots of cultural marginalization of various tribes, and suggest peaceful ways to build cultural solidarity. Imaging and

visualization exercises bring students into the living world of the environment, and encourage them to think of ecologically sustainable futures based on planetary healing and care of the earth. Groups were assigned tasks of defending either the termination, continuation or gradual phase-out of the U.S. bases, while other forms of simulations and role-playing enabled specific development issues (e.g. debt crisis, aid, land reform, peace reconciliation) to be clarified and alternative paradigms understood through the critical thinking of the students themselves, not just by passive banking and receiving pedagogy.

Thus the teacher's role becomes much more of helping critical synthesis and reflection; of facilitating the students to assert initially their own worldviews for cooperative and constructive dialogue; of raising any omissions of realities; of enabling students to surface and process personal biases and fears, hopes and dreams; of assisting students in drawing micromacro and local-national-global connections and dynamics; and of motivating learners to make their personal commitment to peacebuilding. In short, the goals, content and processes of teaching and learning are weaved into a creative flux that continuously draws energies from the synergic infusion of students' and teachers' creative energies, emotions, feelings, prior knowledge, values and commitment into the world of the classroom. In this regard, one helpful strategy which is used as often as possible, when resources permit, is to include field trips in the courses. Hence visits to the Santa Cruz Mission at Lake Sebu demonstrated the realities of a tribal community-building project that is helping the oppressed T'bolis to retain their indigenous culture, while developing more sustainable economic and social frameworks, as well as protecting or recovering their ancestral domains. At Kidapawan, a two-hour ride from the university, the benefits of social organic farming are clearly evident to the students as they walk through the community farm to talk to the people. A trip up Mt. Apo to witness the initial destruction wrought by the experimental geothermal wells on a pristine mountain sacred to the Lumads, convinced class members to lobby for governmental cessation of the massive energy project. An inspiring dialogue with leaders of Basic Ecclesial Communities (BECs) responsible for the creation of demilitarized "Zone of Peace" in Tulunan, revealed the destructive impact of armed conflict and the urgency of active nonviolent resolution of the more than twenty year old insurgency problem. In one lesson, two streetchildren became honorary teachers for two hours, while they recounted their marginalized lives and deprivations and opened the eyes and hearts of many students, for the first time, to the

suffering that can arise from structural violence.

In the area of thesis research, the NDU program clearly has an advantage over training systems which require graduates to spend considerable time away from their local and national realities, as occur in study abroad. The research is not only conducted on pressing indigenous problems, but the researcher remains in touch with changes and events in domestic situations. To date, the research topics examined include a peaceful paradigm for Philippine values education; an evaluation of the Teachers College of NDU in educating for peace; case-studies of local active nonviolent interventions to resolve conflicts; and the theory and practice of the Silsilah Islamic-Christian Dialogue Institute. Problems under study include the role of local newspapers in peace education; the accreditation system of Philippine tertiary institutions; how a Campus Ministry recollection program can promote personal peace; environmental education in NDU; and peaceful conflict resolution strategies among a Muslim tribe.

At this point in time, the NDU Graduate Program in Peace and Development Education still needs at least two more years to attain a sustainable level. As the core of NDU faculty who graduates from the program increases, so the core courses can begin to draw on local teaching capacities. Likewise, the task of research supervision will need to be collaborative in the near term, so that indigenous experience can gradually build up. It suffices to note that given NDU's relatively smaller size, resource endowment and location in one of the poorest regions of the country, compared to all the advantages of elite institutions in the major cities, the progress of the graduate program in peace and development education is not insignificant. The very reality that tertiary teachers in poorer universities or colleges like NDU are much more overworked and underrenumerated than even teachers in elite private high schools, not to mention elite universities, attests to this assessment.

(b) Peace Education and Peacebuilding Beyond NDU

(i) Formal Educational Contexts: The commencement of a graduate program in peace education was accompanied by the establishment of the NDU Peace Education Center. It was vital to have a coordinating agency within the university which could provide impetus and consistent guidelines to peace-oriented academic activities on campus itself, as well as link NDU to the wider society. It is the latter area where the Center has from year to year expanded its involvement in societal peace education and peace-building, acquiring regional and national credibility and reputation, and to a

point where is own human resources are becoming over-stretched. Such efforts also demonstrate that where there is perseverance, creativity, and a willingness to volunteer personal energies, time and risk-taking, then even with a few hands, much can happen. In this regard, the core team of the NDU Peace Education Center needs explicit recognition and praise for their commitment and courage: Ofelia Durante, Jose Bulao, Pedrito Durante, and Essex Giguiento. When Center activities coincided with graduate program courses, we (Floresca-Cawagas and Toh) were also able to participate, and learned much from the experiences.

To begin with, the Center has been the primary catalyst to the gradual spread of peace education in the over 100 schools and institutions belonging to the Notre Dame Educational Association (NDEA). Although it is true that NDEA made educating for peace the theme of its silver jubilee celebration in 1988, and up to a thousand delegates were exposed to peace education ideas and practices, it is fair to say that in many constituent schools, key administrators or faculty are either indifferent to or do not accept the challenges posed by the peace educational paradigm. Thus, opportunities are continually sought to present introductory workshops in individual schools, colleges and universities. Poster exhibitions on various peace issues (e.g. human rights, environmental care), comprising coursework assignments of the graduate program, have been brought to schools to raise awareness of children and youths. Much depends on the approval of presidents or principals for these educational events to proceed, or on the success of individual faculty members who have enrolled in the graduate courses to persuade their administrators to host the workshops. The relative slowness of conversion of other NDEA institutions to peace education clearly demonstrate that although institutions can formally profess a commitment to the "poor, deprived, oppressed, marginalized, and exploited" (PDOME), their leaders may have worldviews on the nature of PDOME problems which run counter to the peace paradigm. This gap betwen theory and practice is not unfamiliar in all societies, and for the NDU Peace Education Center, it represents an obstacle that needs patient assertion and lobbying, and above all, effective role-modelling.

Notwithstanding such difficulties, the Center has in recent years made a number of breakthroughs in outreaching peace education to more educational institutions in the region. For example, the NDEA itself agreed to the development of curriculum modules for infusing peace principles, issues and pedagogies into NDEA schools. Intensive workshop sessions were therefore conducted to help a group of teachers representing several NDEA

schools to the stage of writing such modules. At the tertiary level, several NDEA institutions recently sent faculty members for a five-day workshop on participatory teaching and learning strategies. In mid-1991, in an effort to follow-through on NDEA's commitment to peace education as one of its major educational thrusts, a Peace Education Coordinating Office (PECO) was established to coordinate networking of NDEA schools on implementing this thrust. PECO now involves seven NDEA colleges or universities as sub-centers, responsible for monitoring activities in their areas, and which will take turns in editing a newsletter to keep NDEA members informed. Certainly, PECO represents another small step forward in institutionalizing peace education in an entire educational sub-system, beyond one campus, but the task in translating formal endorsement of a goal to actual implementation will continue to be considerable.

Most recently, UNICEF-Philippines commissioned the Center to design and implement the educational component of its national government/NGO project on Children in Situations of Armed Conflict (CSAC). This activity involves training by the Center of selected groups of public grade school teachers to integrate the curriculum in Sibika and Kultura (Civics and Culture) and design modules for piloting at a national level. The outcomes of this project, if successful, will likewise demonstrate the relevance of the peace education framework to conflict resolution endeavours in the Philippines, and indeed, significantly extend the scope of the Center's reach into the public school system despite its status as a Catholic school agency.

(ii) Community and Society Contexts: From its very inception, the peace education program of NDU has been conceptualized by its founders as holistic in reach. It should not be limited to the academic sphere, but should extend also into nonformal educational work among local communities and the wider Philippine society. In that way, transformation in peace education, whilst vital at the educational level, is also concerned with social, political, economic and cultural peacebuilding. Thus, workshops have been presented for community parishioners, and members of development and church NGOs. Apart from educating about the general framework, some workshops have also focused on more specific issues, such as environmental education deemed as a most crucial thrust in Christian parishes. Center core team members have also reached the public through local media channels, including newpapers and radio. The graduate courses have also resulted in the Centre coordinating petition campaigns to lobby for more peace-oriented policies and programs, such as "freedom from debt", a logging ban on the rapidly vanishing Philippine forests, and solidarity for the school

teachers on hunger strike against authoritarian DECS policies.

However, one of the most memorable nonformal educational opportunities occurred in December, 1989, at the height of an attempted military coup, when we and other core team members spent three days in an infantry brigade camp of the Armed forces of the Philippines. There, initially confronted by tense soldiers clutching their armalites and other weapons and naturally suspicious of "peace and justice" advocates, we encouraged the battle-hardened men to reflect on peace issues and problems, and challenged them to be critical, even about official policies. And as they began to appreciate the pedagogical processes of active teaching and learning, they were able to penetrate through their formal, dogmatic socialization in the military to consider possible alternatives for a peaceful Philippines that would be less militarized, more just and ecologically sustainable. It would take more space than this paper allows to reflect on the processes and consequences of those three days in the camp, but we can still remember with much feeling the clarity which some soldiers, because of their poor community backgrounds, analyzed structural violence; the creativity of their songs, dances and dramas on the conditions of peacelessness in their country; and their personal yearnings for peace, so that they would not have to leave their families on counter-insurgency field assignments not knowing if they will ever return alive or uninjured.

Although brief and one-off, arranged because of a number of chance personal-professional linkages, this experience of doing peace education with human beings, who have fought and killed those identified as "enemies" by the rulers of society, showed the creative possibilities of peaceful conscientization. Not long later, we were able to repeat a workshop at regional headquarters, although this time attended by more junior officers who appeared more ideologically resistant to the peace paradigm. It will never be possible to know the actual outcomes of such isolated educational experiences on the lives of human beings who must follow orders in their occupational practices. Nor is any claim made that one workshop can conscientize soldiers to join the ranks of peacebuilders. But the experience at least demonstrate that if peace education evoked responsive chords on soldiers, then so much more it can be with non-soldiers in the wider society. In 1990, a change in the high command in the region closed off the doors to further peace education workshops with more soldiers, albeit continuing attempts will be made, if possible, at the national level. A formal educational follow-up has also been occurring with sections of the military, whereby extension NDU undergraduate classes in basic Arts

and Sciences have been conducted with an engineering battalion. Infused with peace education content and pedagogy, the classes are scheduled to meet the needs of the soldiers and taught by NDU faculty voluntarily as a community service.

Another important contribution which the NDU Peace Education Center is making to societal peace education occurred when it was called upon by the Teachers Formation Ministry of the ArchDiocese of Cotabato to provide the peace education framework as a context for the church's voter awareness program during the just concluded national elections. Workshop participants included school teachers, administrators and parish workers who will later raise the awareness of voters on voing critically and effectively. The Center's core team also assisted directly in such voter education, and conducted the trainings on independent poll-watching to counter possible electoral fraud. This contribution of the Center showed the flexibility and relevance of the framework to such specific tasks as a political literacy campaign vis-a-vis democratic processes.

A third major exemplar of peace education by the Center in the community is its initiation of dialogues among various cultural/faith communities in order to promote intercultural respect and understanding in a region of great ethnic diversity. As a major site of the Mindanao wars of the 70s, between the Moro liberation fronts and the Marcos regime, the Cotabato provinces remain scarred by those bloody legacies induding Muslim-Christian distrust and divisiveness. The Center-initiated dialogues led to the formation of a multisectoral group called the Sectoral Alliance for Cultural Solidarity (SACS), involving leaders and representatives of the Christian and Muslim faiths, the indigenous Lumads, and NGOs oriented to peaceful and just development. SACS activity has been limited by resource constraints, but the Center remains committed to this facet of peace education given the highly relevant impact of cultural solidarity in this complex, multiethnic corner of the Philippines.

These active linkages between the Center and community or society-wide issues, agencies and campaigns do not, however, imply universal acceptance of the Center's vision and mission. Anecdotal and circumstantial evidence suggest that on both ends of the political spectrum, there exist some suspicion that the Center and the program may harbour ulterior agendas on behalf of wider ideologies or systems. For example, given the emphasis in the framework on active nonviolence, it may be seen as "antagonistic" to movements which find justification in the "just war" doctrine under situations of severe oppression. On the other hand, politic·l conservatives and

armed agencies of Government may consider that the peace framework, with its analysis of structural violence and other facets of societal injustices, serves as an ideological "front" for insurgency. In these cases, the foreign participant in the program becomes conceived respectively as either a possible "CIA"-type agent or an "NDF" sympathiser or worker.

The response of the core team to such reactions has been to remain very open about the framework and the activities of the Center and program. There is nothing to hide, and above all, we continually remind workshop participants that the peace education process embodies critical thinking, which requires understanding of a range of perspectives on any issues. Thus the Center does not seek to indoctrinate anyone about and for peace; in the final analysis, it is the learner exercising critical and democratic capacities who decide their "truths" for themselves and act or not act on them. Peace education oriented to peacebuilding seeks not to further divide, but to reconcile polarized positions through conflict resolution and justice principles, and attain a societal consensus that fulfills the well-being of all citizens. Peace education has a spiritual and practical preferential option for active nonviolence, but we understand the roots of individual or group decisions that lead to armed strategies and conflicts. When a military officer challenged us once with a remark that we should be giving peace education workshop to the NPA guerillas, we responded that we would be willing to do so if invited and if it could be safely arranged for all sides concerned. While NDU is a Catholic institution, the education program strives to cultivate solidarity and sensitivity to the beliefs of non-Catholic communities and traditions, as can be validated, for example, by Muslims enrollees or participants who are themselves active in Moro self-determination movements. In this way, hopefully, the Center and the NDU program can be accurately perceived as critically independent initiatives, with no ulterior interests or allegiances, for building a more peaceful and just Philippine society.

(c) Networking

This dimension of the Center's activities has steadily grown over the years. Networking with similar or related agencies, institutions, and organizations, both nongovernmental and sometimes governmental, have enabled the NDU program to be in touch with movements, campaigns and individual efforts in regional, national, and even international peacebuilding. Mutual and frutiful sharings of ideas and strategies have occurred through these contacts, which are clearly very crucial if peace education and peacebuilding

are to accumulate sufficient interconnected people-power for the required structural transformations. For example, the Center has now affiliated with the national Coalition for Peace movement, and agreed to act as the Secretariat of the Mindanao Peace Conference which joins together Coalition partners in the south. Such national recognition of the Center's pioneering role in peace education does not, however, mean the absence of differing perspectives. Thus recently, although the Mindanao Conference had already agreed to hold a training on peace education, the national leadership's priority on training in international humanitarian law took precendence. Perhaps the Center still has the burden of being at the periphery, even within the community of peacebuilders, though, of course, it is not a conflict that cannot be peacefully negotiated.

Other networking has occurred with governmental bodies like the National Peace Commission, for whom a number of workshops and regional trainings were conducted by the Center. Again, Center members needed to deal with contradictions and difficulties posed by bureaucratic attitudes and elitist values within the Commission, but the outcomes of the actual educational activities were positive in allowing the Center to outreach to people in other Mindanao provinces. Increasingly, too, the Center has established constructive relationships with individual NGOs concerned with specific issues of peace and development, such as the Silsilah Islamo-Christian Dialogue Institute in Zamboanga City; the Socio-Pastoral Institute in Davao City; the Kinaiyahan Foundation Institute, the leading environmental care NGO in Mindanao; and the PCHRD-Caucus for Development.

Beyond the Philippines, the NDU program has linkages with global networks, e.g. International Institutes on Peace Education, Peace Education Commission (IPRA), WCCI, and with projects or programs in institutions in other countries. The latter include the Peace Education Program of Teachers College, Columbia University, of whom Bob Zuber has spent considerable time, energies and risktaking in participating in the NDU graduate and nonformal programs; and the Peace Education Centre of the University of Alberta, Canada, where a proposed twinning arrangement fostered by Terry Carson will hopefully be revived. Networking activities, especially when only NGOs are involved, are necessarily limited by resource constraints, for even attending IPRA conferences are well beyond the financial capacities of South NGOs, or under-resourced agencies like the NDU Center. Nevertheless, creative ways need to be found to optimize such global linkages for there is much to share and to learn from each other's struggles.

(d) Institutional Transformation

Educating for peace in an institution, if it is to be holistic, cannot be limited to a few courses or even an entire curriculum, as in the NDU graduate program. No matter how successful such individual or sectoral experiments may be, they are likely to become marginalized if the other parts of the institution remain unmoved. It is in this important challenge of institutional transformation that the NDU peace education program will need to focus more energies upon in the coming years. Here, at least some progress has been made in the College of Arts and Sciences, whose faculty members have contributed most to the development of the Center and related peace education activities. Consequently, at the undergraduate levels, principles, content and pedagogies of peace education have been infused into core courses in Philosophy, Sociology, English, Religious Studies, Science, Economics, and Philippine studies. In this way, students in the Teachers College have also been partly reached via their core disciplinary majors and minors. Another example of transference from the peace education program to mainstream offerings has been the increasing use of participatory classroom strategies in contrast to conventional, chalk-and-talk lecturing and rote memorization. Instructors and students alike are finding out the joys and more interesting outcomes of critical thinking pedagogies.

However, the same cannot be said of the major professional colleges at NDU, namely Engineering, Nursing, Commerce, Education and Law. For these faculties, despite their awareness of the multiple activities of the Peace Education Center and the graduate program, and exposure for some instructors to peace education workshops or seminars, there appears to be disinterest or resistance to becoming peace educators. A possible factor here might be the technocratic orientation of the curriculum and formation of such professional graduates, especially in a neocolonialist educational framework. Consequently, the critical perspectives of a peace paradigm, underpinned by a commitment to structural transformation, may be perceived as undermining the elitist privileges that could come from such training notably in Law, Engineering and Commerce. In the case of nursing, the prevailing competition on training to become nurses in overseas countries (notably the USA) may dampen consideration of more nationalist professional formation that peace education advocates to serve primary healthcare needs. Even in the case of teacher education, the presence of professors schooled in conventional, Western-oriented models can set up resistance to a more critical, participatory and emancipatory orien-

tation to teaching and learning. In the Graduate School, it may also be simply a concern for the viability of individual specializations, as well as the renumerated opportunities to teach graduate courses, that puts up hurdles for greater infusion of peace education courses into other specialized degree programs, even if they may be relevant in content. These factors are only tentatively suggested as obstacles to infusing peace education through all formal programs of NDU, and they will need careful analysis and action research as the Center moves more into institutional transformation. But given the potential influential roles played by their graduates in decision-making and implementing capacities in governmental and private sectors, the still relatively uncoverted professional colleges need to be engaged in dialogue to see the importance of pro-people values and training.

In recent times, however, perhaps an even more basic motivation for the relative slow pace of institutional transformation at NDU derives from the problem of perceived gap between theory and practice in the administration of the university, circa 1987-1992, the first five years of the program's life. There is no space here to go into the complex details of such perceptions. It suffices to note that internal contradictions between the overall commitment of university leaders to peace education and peacebuilding, and specific policies and procedures in administrator-faculty relationships (especially in the areas of fair labour practices and democratic decision-making systems) probably became a major psychological barrier for some faculty members to support the Center and the peace education program. A perceived lack of sincerity and inadequate role-modelling not consistent with peace principles, became a rationale for not openly judging the Center and program on their own merits. Furthermore, the argument is made that if the Center is really concerned about structural violence and power inequalities, then it should take a stand on what faculty felt were injustices and a lack of democracy in the administration of the university.

To counter these kinds of perception, efforts have been recently made to show that the Center is indeed concerned about the practice of peace principles within NDU. This included conducting a workshop at the request of the Faculty Staff Association on principles and strategies for conflict resolution in administrative-faculty relationships. At this juncture, it is clear that the Center and program will need to work harder at breaking-through the attitudinal barriers and misperceptions of its role in institutional inequities and peacelessness. Creative activities will have to be conducted to reach out to members of the NDU community in the same way that the Center and program has been able to touch communities beyond the cam-

pus. In this regard, the university's formulation in 1992 of a new 5-year development plan which includes key references to developing social conscience and responsibility, should serve as a helpful vehicle for such transformational work. The very recent appointment of a new President, Fr. Eliseo Mercado, OMI, who has a long-standing commitment to peace, justice and cultural solidarity advocacy, and the promotion of Ofelia Durante to Vice-President (Academic) also constitute helpful factors for wider organizational conversion.

Last but not least, institutional transformation also means infusing extra-curriculum activities and programs of the university with peace education principles. Apart from the present intractable national requirement of compulsory military training, there is much else that can be done, and is beginning to be done by the Center as resources and energies permit. For example, NDU was successful in gaining affiliation in the global UNESCO Associated Schools Project. This meant that an active UNESCO Club could be organized among staff, students and faculty to promote ideas and practices of sustainable development, peace and international solidarity inside and outside campus. To date, activities have included seminars and workshops for elementary, high scool and college students, and an adopt-a-tree project. This year too, a core team member has been designated to coordinate the community extension program of NDU, thereby offering creative opportunities to infuse peace education through the ways in which NDU faculty and students outreach to the local communities, and to transcend hitherto largely "dole-out" strategies. Clearly, much more can be accomplished in the extra-curriculum facets of university life (e.g. student leadership programs, counselling, Campus Ministry), but contraints of human and other resources cannot be quickly overcome, and progress must be reasonably measured in small but determined steps.

SOME CRITICAL BUT ONGOING REFLECTIONS

Alluded or articulated throughout our narration and analysis of the NDU peace education program has been various critical reflections on its nature, directions, progress, strengths, limitations, achievements and obstacles. Rather than merely repeat those concrete reflections on specific plans, events or practices, it seems more useful to conclude this paper with more general abstracted themes that speak to the heart of this story. At least ten such reflective themes may be offered for dialogue.

Chance and Serendipity: Some technical and professional designing of the formal program was needed to comply with bureaucratic procedures (e.g. detailed program description for DECS approval, project proposal for DFA endorsement and AIDAB approval). It was also necessary to convince top administrators in government agencies of the "viability" of the program in educational and management terms – an effort which certainly required careful planning and scheduling in the face of limited human and material resources. However, the experiences of this experiment in peace education reflects the significant role of chance and serendipity in the origins and evolution of the program. It is true that occasional planning dialogues were held by us and other core team members on current progress and future prospects, but these discussions never attained what might be described as technocratic planning. The lesson here is, of course, not to downgrade effective organizing in doing peace education, but rather to be creative in using peripheral and lateral "vision" to seek opportunities for practice of our craft.

Collaboration and Horizontality: In any peace education project or program that involves participants from different nations and regions, or for that matter, different social and other marks of differentiation (e.g. ethnicity, class, gender) within the one society, authentic collaboration is indispensable. Unless there is a willingness of all parties to share skills and knowledge and to humbly learn from each other in a spirit of horizontality, the seeds will be sown for inter-partner tensions, conflicts dominance by the "powerful" (even if unintended), and a loss of esteem and marginalization on the part of the "less powerful". In that instance, dialogue will be superficial and the sustainability of the project questionable. All too often, the presence of consultants representing institutions of the advanced industrialized world or official multilateral agencies reinforces the "expert" attitude which is contrary to peaceful pedagogy. In the NDU program, the North and South partners constantly strove to maintain horizontal collaboration, and thus evolved a critical consensus that was able to withstand the rigours of implementation difficulties, frustrations and reverses. While the South partners were open and willing to explore concepts and strategies for peace building, they were, at the same time, eager to share their own indigenous practices and real-life experiences in facing violence and conflict. This provided an exciting and nurturing learning environment for all those involved in the peace education efforts at NDU. The very nature of research production was also transformed so that visits by the external partners did not become expedient channels for the writing of books and

articles that might have earned them kudos in mainstream intellectual circles.

Constructive Communication: The NDU experience confirmed the importance and necessity of communicating in a style that was clearly understandable by all audiences, and most importantly, kept open the minds and hearts of would-be or actual opponents or disbelievers. Thus clarifying the issues and problems of peacelessness demanded that the listener's personal, but not necessarily unchangeable, worldviews be perceived as worthy of being listened to in return. Secondly, it was found best to avoid language employed often by activists in their urgent campaigns for societal transformation, language which is not necessarily wrong in explanatory power, but which has already been identified as marking a particular antagonistic ideological position. Thus some political slogans may already evoke hostility or even fear, and trigger the shutting of ears, minds and hearts to the essence of peace education messages. In sum, the NDU program yields some insights for conscientizing the powerful or elites, or those who work for them.

Linking Academy with Community: It is also evident from the NDU experience that the academic dimensions and facets of the program needed to be and benefited immeasurably from their linkages with community concerns and peacebuilding. In the classrooms, educating for peace is facilitated by learners coming to grips with the very realities of conflict, violence, and peacelessness in their own society. Thus theory is not separated from social practices, and graduates leave the academy with a more relevant and polically literate view of the world they will be entering as citizens. Most importantly, people outside formal educational institutions, including those with little or no credentials in the marginalized sectors of society, are accorded respect for their insights and direct experiences of grassroots conditions. On the other hand, in the communities, ideas and processes brought for dialogue and conscientization by peace educators from the university show that theory can help make more critical sense of realities, and hence societal change cannot be simply unreflective activitism. The Center, and peace educators also at the same time develop more credible role-models for societal transformation, avoiding the label of being "arm chair radicals".

Facilitative Leadership: Undoubtedly, the evolution of the NDU program would never have taken place in the absence of facilitative university leadership by such Oblates as Fr. Ante and Fr. Carino, or in the presence of a hostile adminstration. While it is true that the Center's support was largely

moral and much less resource-based, its facilitative role cannot be underemphasized. However, one limitation of the lack of resources meant that those who joined the core team were heavily taxed in terms of time, energies and even personal resources, raising the common NGO syndrome of burn-out. Fortunately, mutual and sensitive support on the part of all team members have helped cushion this limitation to a certain degree. This is where the better endowed North can help through catalytic funding, but a difficulty for peace education programs is the North's perceptions (even among grassroots agencies) that priority should be given to direct community self-reliance activities (e.g. economic upliftment, health, basic literacy, appropriate technology). Until this perception can be changed, NDU-type programs will also be hindered by resource constraint, since NDU workers are usually themselves full-time faculty members with all the attendant responsibilities that must be accomplished as peace education activities are being undertaken.

A Holistic Concept of Peace: This program has waged a peaceful struggle for the generic concept of peace as a holistic, integrated metaphor that includes and also links together the major clusters of issues of peacelessness in the Philippines. Thus the "peace" in peace education in the Philippines is increasingly understood in this holistic sense, thereby overcoming the stereotype of limiting and narrow definitions, such as a disarmament emphasis in peace education which characterized the "first wave" of peace education in the industrialized world. It also means that the strategy in sections of the North to instead use the label of "global education", partly necessitated by changing internal political and geopolitical conditions, is not required in the Philippines. Given the urgent saliency of peacelessness in the Philippines, the peace metaphor is undoubtedly a more powerful vehicle for transformation. Not least, the spiritual-cultural context of a vast majority of Filipinos gives a prominent place to the role of peace in personal and social fulfillment. This was highlighted during the workshop with soldiers among whom we discovered a yearning for peace to replace uncertainties awaiting them on their next patrol. But at the same time, we found it constantly necessary to emphasize that "peace" as spoken in the Bible or Qur'an or other religious texts could not be reduced to personalistic or individual terms. Could anyone of us be "peaceful" knowing that we are only concerned about our own well-being, and that we are wittingly or unwittingly supporting status quos which oppress and repress other human beings?

Assertiveness and Hopefulness: The experience of the NDU program

demonstrates the importance of being simultaneously assertive and hopeful of potential success. Who could have imagined that from the humble beginnings of a small barely resourced Center and a Graduate Program that created negative reactions at the national ministry of education, the outcomes would be as described in this paper. Had the core team been less assertive and hopeful, then we might never have taken up the challenge in trying to raise peace issues in an empowering way with battle-hardened soldiers on full alert in the middle of the country's biggest coup attempt. If, in the face of the powerful paradigm which elevates technocratic modernization programs to "priority" areas, we had not asserted to the government and foreign aid agencies that peace education can make an urgent contribution to national development, and hence deserves support, then the graduate program might have withered in the vine. When the Center and the program received national recognition in 1990 by winning an Aurora Quezon Peace Award, it reflected those twin values of assertiveness and hopefulness: being willing to state a principled stand on what peace education needs to be and do; hopeful in the face of difficulties of the emancipatory power of critical education.

Patience, Perseverance and Praxis: Related values that have sustained the progress of the program are embodied in these three terms. It is unlikely that much of a viable and sustainable nature would have happened had the program been conceptualized in short time-lines, like one to two years. As it turned out, patience and perseverance finally yielded fruit only after the first two years. Also, there were considerable creative energies invested in getting around obstacles, and advice was taken from what the Daoist sages recommended, that even water will wear away the hardest rock. The third "p", praxis, demanded that core team members especially sought to enhance personal credibility by linking their theory with consistent action. While this was not always succesfully accomplished, at least there was a public perception of sincere endeavour. For teachers, personal praxis is a catalyst for learner role-modelling. However, we had to constantly remind participants that praxis in peace education is not necessarily expressed in visible political activism (e.g. rallies, development projects). Rather the "action" component in peace education predominantly occurs through, on the one hand, a reorientation of personal and social consciousness that can sustain committed action, and on the other hand, a restructuring of the educational system which has long been neglected in movements for societal change as something to be accomplished after "liberation". Yet, how can modern societies be peaceful if a major vehicle of citizen formation, the educational

system, remains wedded to unpeaceful values and practices?

Workability in the North?: Doing peace education in a society where deep crises of peacelessness, conflict and violence pervade everyday realities appears to have the "advantage" of immediate and urgent relevance, in contrast to North contexts, where sometimes learners may have little awareness of such realities even if they exist in the ghettoes of their societies. Can the NDU experience be replicated in say a North institution? This question is best left for readers, especially those from the North, to explore, but perhaps the often more differentiated North university complex, the higher levels of academic autonomy and internal democracy, and the deep structures of a liberalist-conservative ideology running though advanced industrialized educational systems, might all be factors requiring somewhat different strategies, if not principles of praxis. However, at the least, we venture to argue that some direct experience in South-based peace education provides a kind of "baptism" that creates attitudes, values, and a political will (emerging from often involuntary risktaking), which are all most helpful for doing peace education in the North. Furthermore, the "civilizing" of violence in North contexts means the need for patient peeling away of layers of consciousness that rationalize domestic violence and external violent conduct in terms of individual, community and global "well-being."

Lives Transformed: It has been impossible for those deeply involved in the NDU peace education program to not have their lives transformed through that experience. As we shared the joys of small accomplishments; the frustrations and disappointments of limitations, reverses and contradictions; and the renewal from shared hopes and dreams, we in our own ways, faiths and traditions realize that educating for peace in Cotabato, in Mindanao, in the Philippines, and in further places when opportunities are presented, is profoundly also a discovery and an ongoing journey of personal awakening and transformation. Thus it is so very much less the satisfaction of gaining a doctorate in peace education, or writing journal articles or perhaps books on the experience, but much more the catalysts and challenges that the experience has provided for personal and spiritual growth. As workshops and community experiences brought us in contact with ordinary folks who, despite grinding poverty, social injustices, and political repression, can often still remain dignified and compassionate human beings, we began to understand how modern, industrial culture has socialized the more privileged sectors of humanity into over-attachments to "things" and satisfactions of the ego (e.g. fame, status, power), and in the

process diminishing the profound richness of caring relationships between and among members of the one Earth family. We even more deeply appreciate the need for those of us involved in intellectual endeavours (however well connected with action) to avoid the temptation to be "gurus" delivering "wisdom" to the "unenlightened masses." In sum, peace theory must never be separated from the groundedness of critical and self-critical peace practice.

The story thus told so far on the multifaceted peace education program at Notre Dame University remains unfinished, as it necessarily must in all endeavours to educate for and to build a more peaceful, just, sustainable and healing world. It is a small story in so far as it focuses on one institution in a peripheral region of the Philippines. It certainly makes no claims about accomplishing more than or even as much as other parallel grassroots movements for peacebuilding in the Philippines, movements whose members often face greater risks and more difficult conditions than we have experienced in the NDU program. But hopefully some theoretical and practical lessons can be learned. We also hope that other similar stories of peace educators and peacebuilders worldwide will likewise be told. For we humbly believe that it is the accumulating tide of peaceful people-power that can generate the waves of planetary healing to wash away the powerful rocks of destruction, greed and self-centeredness put down by so many ruling elites of yesterdays and today.

This story owes its telling to the memories gathered during the many activities of the NDU Peace Education Center and the graduate program in peace and development education. We are thankful to the educators, administrators, NGO and parish workers, nuns, priests, soldiers, students, activists of cause-oriented groups, government officials, and ordinary citizens of diverse ethnic communities, for their participation in or support of those educational processes from which the insights in this paper emerged. However, we must acknowledge above all our colleagues in the core team – Jose Bulao, Pedrito Durante, and Essex Giguiento – for their commitment, tireless work, courage and solidarity in this shared journey of peace education. May our journey continue ...

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